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226 This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

625 In walks over the island with Yato informants, amazement was always expressed
152 in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the
321 reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that my informants were not likely to steal nuts or talo from the reserve, informants never
123 set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotawa. This was the first time that some of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotawa that they might visit Yato's reserve as canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotawa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fictitious crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

621 The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands
685 throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of
421 the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was
361 temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law of *pule pae* was decreed whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralized in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. Accord-
625 ing to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wala-o-Yila-Wua (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that chases), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wala-Mangeo (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato.

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae;* this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus earning the name of pandanus that glitters only but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, so they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man carrying at the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law breakers at once, and that the Loto guard killed them on the next day.

625 Besides accounting for the law breakers, the guard collected nuts and fished for
226 food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wale,
245 on Motu Ko, and on Motu Kotawa. Other members went through the village each day to see that everyone was accounted for. Those missing had to prove that they were

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One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor. In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time. Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata maiva*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

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girls and boys went together in the evening to the outer beach. There they played for a time and then paired off to copulate. That preferences and jealousies might sometimes wreck the happiness of these parties is well illustrated in case histories. The occurrence of periods of license after the chanting and dancing over the village sporting triumph is well authenticated from references in the chants. Married men and women and unmarried young people were all mixed together on these dance occasions. No tapus seem to have been observed save those for related kin. Intercourse on these occasions seems usually, but not always, to have been under the friendly cover of darkness, on any space near or on the dance ground. On certain other occasions, as at the end of the day when the canoes returned from a fishing competition, the women went to the beach to meet the men, and a period of wild lovemaking followed, all the more enjoyable because the men and women had been chaste for five or six days before and during the contest. It was customary during this license for women of one paternal lineage in the village to select lovers from among men of the other lineages in the same village.

At one time, if not throughout the history of Pukapuka, places were set aside where groups of people of both sexes would repair for sexual intercourse. The Pukapukan name for these places and for the group of people who sought enjoyment in them is *ati*. After contact between Pukapuka and Yayako, where these copulation groups were a highly developed institution, the Yayake name, *you*, was borrowed and superseded the Pukapukan name. Each *you* was presided over by an organizer and general guard (*taumatua*) after whom the group was named. The *taumatua* protected the members of the *you* against unwelcome interference by jilted lovers or irate husbands. Men and women went to the *you*, chanted and danced together, and had sexual intercourse. The place on Wale where the champion Waletiale once conducted his *you* (1) is still pointed out.

In view of the freedom of sex experience before and after marriage in Pukapukan culture, the question arises as to the incidence of jealousy in former times. From hints obtained from old stories, it is evident that jealousy was a frequent emotion of the spouse, but that the amount of jealousy stirred up depended almost entirely on the personalities involved. The classic expression of the culture pattern seems to be contained in the story of the visit of Te Palo to Pukapuka. When Pukapukan husbands discovered that Te Palo had been secretly visiting their wives, they were angry with him. But Te Palo reasoned with them: "There is nothing to it. My comings to your wives were comings only to scratch your women who are established so nicely in Pukapuka. Are you going to get angry for nothing?" The ideas which had angered the men subsided under this reasoning.

It would seem therefore that culturally there was no place for jealousy.

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[586] 152 837 Other stories, however, indicate that a man might divorce his faithless wife or punish her or her lover physically. The community would agree that he had a certain measure of provocation, even though it might not approve of extreme types of punishment. On the other hand, some stories indicate that a man might be untroubled by a faithless wife and continue to live with her, even though he and all the island knew of her philanderings. The tales do not suggest that either spouse might become jealous of the other for joining in the behavior characteristic of the periods of license. This was socially approved; any jealousy that an individual felt he probably kept to himself. When the husbands plotted to kill Waletiale for seducing their wives, they were apparently more worried by the fact that their wives never came to sleep with them than by the fact that they also slept with Waletiale and his men.

581 836 Molingi discussed the sexual experience of the 33 unmarried women and girls in Pukapuka past the age of puberty, and the likelihood of their marrying. It is difficult to know on what her judgment that certain girls will not marry is based; it is probably, in general, an intuitive feeling that those girls whom she considers promiscuous (*uia eia*) can not attract husbands, because men do not want as their wives women who have had many men. A few women placed in the class of those not likely to marry are weak, sickly, not apt to bear children. For the rest, no reason was forthcoming beyond, perhaps, a certain ill-disposition evident in the girls in question.

Of the 33 women and girls, 14 are still at school or have but recently left school and are aged up to 18 years. Informant was certain that five of these had lovers, two more probably had lovers, and five have probably not yet had intercourse. Of the remaining two girls she had no knowledge. Of these 14 girls it is yet too early to say which will be promiscuous and which not. There are four other unmarried girls of the same age who have children. One of these girls has had only two lovers and will probably marry soon. The remaining three girls informant characterized as being *uia eia*, over-sexed, promiscuous. Two of these she thought will not secure a husband, the third may or may not; the matter is doubtful.

There are five women now well on in the thirties, who class as spinsters, women who have never married and who probably will not marry. They are *uia ina*, disliked by the opposite sex. Of these, four have children; one of these four is rated as promiscuous. The oldest woman without children is said to have been promiscuous in her day. There is a sixth older woman who might be classed as a spinster, but she is the island imbecile, a deaf-mute.

There remain nine young women of the marrying age. Two of these Molingi classes as *uia eia*, though she thinks that neither of them has had intercourse! One woman who has had a child has had but one or two lovers but will probably never marry. The remaining six girls are all said to be men pursuers. Five of them do not have any children, and of these five, only two are likely to marry. The remaining *uia eia* woman, who has a child, is also not likely to secure a husband.

The promiscuous woman, generally condemned to remain unmarried and to be thought of as an irresponsible trouble-maker, will probably have chil-

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to be *mata kivikivi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white people.

Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable, rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kivikivi*. Such a person is furious with children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quarrels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *maseva poto* or *ngakau kino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions. Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wakalakapeka;* one who arrogates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wakalakapeka*. This word is distinguished from the words *witoki, winaki,* and *matawua,* which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *witoki;* a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *witoki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who bold;y uses the personal possessions of another is said to *wakamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *wakamitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yetwlutwla tutwina*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngutu tuakuya*.

Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy person is a *tangata kakiongo;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of food is said to *yokoyoko;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *noinoi;* a person who is greedy for food is *kopu yae;* a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanau;* a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *kai yau;* one who steals food is *toyuyu;* one who is generous at giving away food is *kaikai malie*.

One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is considered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valetiko*, stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *pupapupa*, meaning that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *luma:* a crippled person has a *luma;* a bald-headed man has a *luma* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku vela* (my enemy or my hated person), *toku mina* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku vela, ko koe" (You're the one I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *usi vela* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *usi mina*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye usi vela* (one who does not make enemies), *ai e ye milimili* (one who does not select people).

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Alatakupu's adopted son called out: "Why are you afraid, O men of Wale? This man has killed many of your sons and friends. Spare him and he will kill many more, including you here for being rebels." Then he ran back up to Alatakupu and struck him in the face with a club. His son seized the half-stunned chief by the neck and throat. Friends from Wale renewed their courage. They placed a cord round the chief's neck and forthwith strangled him to death. People were so angry with his body, even dead, that they refused to allow it to be taken back to Wale for burial in the chief's cemetery. The body was left on Motu Ko and buried, along with the bodies of some of the old men, in a lone grave in the middle of the village of Te A.

When all had returned to Wale, the people in meeting decided to wipe out the stock of Alatakupu, root and branch. All his direct male relatives, without exception, including even suckling babes, were hunted out and strangled; their bodies thrown away.

There was thus left no male issue to succeed to the title. It was decided to wait until later years when a distant female relative of the main line might give birth to a male child before making another appointment to the position of chief. In the interregnum Tuiva was asked to act as regent for the island. Tuiva became the controlling head of the island until it was opportune to appoint, as the new chief, the boy Ikilua.

The two stories of Alatakupu illustrate very well a feature shared with other accounts of Pukapukan fighting: the apparent blood lust that gripped a Pukapukan crowd when it set out to kill. Little mercy was shown or expected; no courtesies were granted a dying person. Old animosities were revived and everyone not a friend became an enemy to be put out of the way without consideration. There appears to have been a boiling-over of repressed hatred, a collective running amok, which is hard to harmonize with the more usual gentle Pukapukan nature. It is likely that the killings resulted in a sort of emotional catharsis which, when finished, prepared the atoll group for a further period of peaceful and friendly village relations.

Manihiki Immigrants

The two Manihiki warriors mentioned in the story of the killing of Alatakupu came to Pukapuka in a drift canoe from Manuyiki (Manihiki). The canoe was named Tialalunga, and in it were Tualangi and Pailoa and five women including Tata, wife of Tualangi, an elderly woman; Tokoua; Telua; and two other women who were drowned. This canoe is often referred to as Te Vaka-o-Tata (The Canoe-of-Tata).

These people set out from Lakawanga (Rakahanga) to sail to Manuyiki (Manihiki). Halfway across, a strong gale blew up; the canoe drifted and the course was lost. But for the protection of a large sail fish which swam along the windward side of the canoe, sheltering it from the worst of the seas, the canoe would have been swamped. This sail fish had been sent by the Manihiki gods after their adherents had prayed to them for protection. After many days at sea, during which the drifters kept themselves alive by eating raw fish (there was a big tuna fish in the canoe when it landed at Pukapuka), the canoe drifted to Pukapuka, coming up from the south and striking the reef outside Motu Kotawa. The people were too weak to make a good landing on this difficult reef, and coming over the reef the two women were washed

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[522] 181 or with the exaggerated functioning of these processes in normal situations.

Realism reaches its full development in the realm of sex. The contents of chants and stories and the behavior of children are proof of this. One of the most difficult tasks of the resident agent in his capacity as school teacher is to check the lack of inhibition in the speech of children within school.

Cultural extraversion allows for great display of individual prowess in typical extraverted activities such as fishing, sports, games, and lovemaking. Economic patterns which necessitate group work for the good of the household or village act as a check, but this work is often competitive and places a premium on individual skill if the household or village is to triumph over competing groups. States of typical hysterical dissociation were formerly common among priests and medicine men when consulting lineage gods.

181 554 521 152 In general, little check is placed on individual prowess and a man is honored for displaying his abilities. In the reciting of chants that symbolize triumph over another village or grief felt for a departed member of the community, wild movements, loud weeping, and hysterical displays of emotion are common and proper. Good taste also permits conversation or oratory to be accompanied by vigorous body movements, gestures, and intense dramatization of climactic moments. People are noisy in conversation (unless prudence dictates the whisper); they enjoy loud laughter and shouting back and forth to each other. Children, too, when not subdued by elders or by the presence of white people, engage in noisy games, in which singing and excited movement are appropriate. There are of course a few individuals who do not conform to this pattern. But in the matter of deciding what is good taste, this characterization is not false to the cultural ideal.

181 885 517 The chief virtues for the man are those grouped around technical excellence at craft and other economic activities, and skill at lovemaking. Those for the woman parallel these: they are economic and craft virtues, virtues of physical excellence and bodily strength, and again, skill at lovemaking. It is to be noted that these activities are extraverted feeling activities. Along with them goes an appreciation of, and single-minded attention to, the cultivation of the senses. The culture is sensuous but not sensual. The chants are full of explicit reference to the beauty of the human body as tested by sight, smell, and feeling, to the love of flowers and plants, to the keen joy in the slightest beauty of the physical environment. This cultivation of 181 feeling, a cultivation which is hardy and vigorous and in no sense to be 831 equated with the pale vision of the esthete, reaches its highest development in the symbolisms of sexual intercourse. Around the sexual act itself has been constellated a naturalistic play activity and delight in associations derived from close study of nature that render the Pukapukan interest in this major fact of life one that is the reverse of the gross and sensual. The Pukapukan

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861 socialised have been confined to generalised statements about weaning and pre-puberty. These two periods are undoubtedly two formalised crisis periods in the life of the Pukapukan child. But there are others as well that are common but which probably have a differing impact, depending somewhat on obscure factors in the life of this particular Pukapukan child or that. Study of all the behavior records collected by direct observation of Pukapukan children in a wide variety of situations suggests that the most frequent of these stresses in the socialisation process order themselves into the following rough and non-exhaustive classes: behavior difficulties over weaning; behavior stresses through discipline; behavior problems in adoption; fear situations of various kinds, such as fear of objects, fear of ridicule; aggressive behavior in the effort to control objects; aggressiveness towards siblings. It will be worth while to characterize these difficulties in some detail in order to illustrate both the situations that give rise to frustration and the behavior that is typical of the Pukapukan child in these circumstances.[1]

159 Two observations will serve as examples of weaning stresses. These and other observations throughout this section are given in the form of field note records.

862 Mata, a childless married woman is minding her sister's baby, William (0:8),[2] for the day while
152 his mother works in the taro gardens. The child is soon to be weaned and has already started to eat taro and nuts; Mata's keeping the child for a whole day is part of the weaning process. The child gets restless and fretful, so Mata picks it up in her arms and rocks it violently, cuddling it fiercely, bumping it about and patting it with no gentle hand. To soothe the child further she gives it her dry breast to suck. The baby sucks hard and then when he can get no milk, he stands up, suddenly bites Mata's neck. Then he returns to her breast and ends by giving her nipple a severe nip with his teeth. Mata slaps the child on the head. The child cries hard, throws itself about in her lap. It is given some coconut flesh to eat but continues to whimper for some time thereafter.

Liaki (1:3) is the youngest of six children living with their unmarried mother. He walks but is not yet completely weaned. His mother is just recovering from a chill and fever. She tries not to let Liaki have the breast because she fears her fever may have made her milk bad for the child. She puts Liaki to sleep on the section of the sleeping platform occupied by his sisters. He repeatedly gets up in the night, however, crawls over to his mother, cries loudly and tries to get at her breast. He is crying this afternoon. His mother tells me she has again tried to put him to sleep without breast

124 [1] The material on children given here is summarized from specific observations made throughout our Pukapukan fieldwork on thirty-one children in Yato village, the village in which we lived. This is more than half the children in the village between the ages of six months and twelve years. The children studied grouped themselves in age grades as follows: under 1 year, 4; 1–2 years, 4; 2–3 years, 4; 3–4 years, 5; 4–5 years, 4; 5–6, 6–7, 7–8, 8–9, 10–12, 2 children each. Twenty-two of the children were male, nine were female. There is no reason to think that this group as a whole (and its age distribution) does not represent a fair sample of Pukapukan children—except for the fact that an ideal sample would demand approximately equal sex representation. Specific general taking of these thirty-one children was, of course, supplemented by more casual observation of many children in our own as well as in the two other villages on the atoll, together with long discussions with informants over childhood problems. One of us, it should also be noted, could use the Pukapukan dialect with sufficient confidence to make the native language the means of communication with both children and adults.

[2] Figures in parentheses after names indicate the child's age. A figure before the colon indicates years; one following the colon, months.

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159 feeding. Each time she puts him down, he sits up, cries and crawls onto her lap. Kneeling in her lap
862 he tries to grasp her breast. She pushes his hand away. He rolls onto his belly on the ground, kicks
152 his toes into the sand for a few minutes and then falls asleep. Whenever he is seen these days he is playing continually with his penis. Sometime later, when he wakes, his mother puts him outside the cookhouse. The railings of this are too high for him to climb over. He finally succeeds in entering the house by bending back the screen-mat tied to the railings, poking his head through a gap in the railing and tumbling into the house headfirst. His mother says he always enters the house in this way, "just like a baby getting born." She says weaning time is hard for the child. He cries all the time because he cannot get what he wants.

861 Discipline of children is secured in two ways: either by physical punishment or else by threats designed to arouse fear in the child. Discipline-frustrations are of the following order:

[863] For bodily hygiene: as soon as a child is old enough to walk, an older person, either parent or sibling, leads it to a proper place outside the house. A child old enough to be about by itself is expected to leave the house to attend to its bodily needs. Should it fail to do this, parents scold, threaten to whip and often do whip the child across the buttocks.

Physical punishment: A mother sends her son (12:0) to feed the family pigs. The boy goes off in the right direction but stops to play a game of marbles. His mother keeps her eye on him, continually calling out to him to get along to the pigs. After about half an hour, with the boy still playing marbles, the mother asks a man going in that direction to bring the boy back to her. The man carries the boy back on his shoulders. The mother puts down the infant she is nursing and whips the boy severely with a coconut leaf switch. A group of her friends sit around unconcerned. The boy finally runs from her into the house where he picks up an empty coconut and hurls it at his mother. It goes wide. His mother pays no more attention to him. Crying, the boy rolls on the ground for a while, then goes off to feed the pigs.

849 Threats: Parents threaten toddlers by telling them that animals, e.g., pigs or ducks, will get them if they disobey commands, or else that ghosts will eat them. Ghost threats are common at nightfall. (Fear of supernaturals is very strongly grounded in Pukapukan psychology.) Spitting or pretense of spitting at misbehaving children is also a common method of discipline.

573 In connection with all types of discipline the eldest boy in the family has special privi-
865 leges and powers over his younger siblings. He may whip his younger brothers or sisters if they disobey any of his commands.

152 Aggressive behavior towards younger or older siblings of the same or opposite sex appears to be common in Pukapuka. According to one excellent informant most children were unhappy if there were no younger brothers and sisters in the family. When her eldest son was about eight years old, he asked his mother to give birth to a sister for him. His mother said she would and when she later told the boy she was pregnant, he was very happy and assured her many times that she was going to bear a female child. According to his mother this boy never showed any jealousy towards his younger siblings while they were still in-

b:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

fants but when they reached the age of two or more years and began to run about he would become angry with them and very aggressive in their presence. Two examples will again show the form in which this aggression expresses itself among children.

Pita (10:0) has a drinking nut which his two younger siblings, Talatini (8:0) and Langatila (3:6), wish to share with him. Langatila grimaces and cries at his brother while Talatini struggles with Pita to secure possession of the nut. Pita fights him off with one hand at the same time swallowing the coconut water as quickly as possible. Then when the nut is nearly empty he throws it on the ground and walks off. Talatini picks it up and goes to crack it open. Langatila cries harder than ever. Pita comes back, picks up a coconut switch and beats Langatila with it. Pita says he does this "without reason, just for fun." He goes inside the house and finds Langatila there. He whips him again, continuing the whipping as crying Langatila first climbs a house post unsuccessfully trying to escape the punishment, then slips down the post and falls on the ground. He finds a coconut spathe there and tries to hit Pita with it. While this is going on, the father of the two boys comes into the house. Langatila without a word to, or a glance in the direction of, his father slips out of the house and walks away to the beach, muffling his sobbing as he goes. The mother of the boys has been in the cookhouse next door throughout this scene, within easy hearing range, but she has not bothered to interfere with this aggressive behavior.

The second example shows this sibling aggression in another context. The children of Puloto are sitting on the beach eating their food. Ngatokalua (5:0) is crying. His elder sister Nunui (12:0) volunteers that she has just whipped him. After a while Ngatokalua stops his weeping, turns to Nunui and calls such insults at her as "stinking vagina." Nunui slaps his face. He repeats the insult and this time Nunui hits him hard across the mouth with her hand. He begins to cry once more. Nunui meantime has been minding her still younger brother (1:3) who is fretful and troublesome. She makes a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slips the noose over Liaki's penis and pulls the leaflet so hard that Liaki falls to the ground. Nunui then tries to rock Liaki to sleep by cradling him in her arms and manipulating his penis. When she thinks Liaki is asleep, she carries him towards the house but Liaki wakes and cries out. Nunui runs back to the beach carrying the crying Liaki suspended by an arm and leg. She runs down to the sea, playfully dips Liaki's head under the water, then sits down on the sand and begins her rocking of Liaki all over again. Tinomana (2:6), another brother, comes up. He sees his younger brother being rocked to sleep. He picks up a long coconut midrib from the beach and makes as if to hit Liaki with it. He ends by pounding the midrib against a log of drift wood, then holds it up in the air, shouting out that it is his spear.

Frustrations arising from a conflict of loyalties consequent upon adoption would seem to present major difficulties in the lives of many Pukapukan children. There are two types of adoption in the culture: complete adoption and partial or feeding adoption. Complete adoption involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. Feeding adoption usually involves change in residence but never change in descent line. To show the incidence of Pukapukan adoption it may be noted that of 348 persons included in a household census, 80 (22.9%) have at some time been completely adopted. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5%) are completely adopted, 13 (6.22%) are partially adopted. Adoption of both types, therefore, has involved over 25% of the individuals in one generation-stratum. The motives for adoption are both personal and eco-

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597 nomic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line; economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares and property that an adopted child brings into the household, or for someone to care for them in their old age. The range of possible relationships between adopting parent and child is almost infinite. Study of census material, however, shows that adoptions by maternal and paternal relatives are almost equal; the father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father are likely to adopt more frequently than any other relatives.

597 The process of complete adoption generally begins with the bespeaking of a child before
[431] its birth. The adopting couple feed the mother from the third month of pregnancy onwards.
553 They present her family with special food gifts each time there is a food division. They name the child and provide the birth feast, taking formal possession of the child at weaning.
851 This method of pre-natal adoption is looked upon as the best method of ensuring complete social and emotional control of the child. A divided loyalty in the child is looked upon as fatal to the complete success of the economic and psychological security desired by the parents. On the other hand it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the parents a chance to evaluate the capabilities of the adopted child. Hence some parents favor a partial or feeding adoption at the beginning: the adopting parents take the child at weaning time into their household; if at a later date they wish completely to adopt the child, they do so by mutual arrangement with the blood parents, accompanied by a renaming of the child.

597 All our Pukapukan informants sensed the conflict situations involved in this extensive
828 practise of adoption. The adopted child is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything except the accident of conception and gestation, though the fiction is that the
577 adopting parents become sociological parents before birth through their pre-natal feeding of the mother. The adoption is held to break all kinship ties based on blood and new kinship obligations are established according to the relationships of the adopting parents. As the child grows up, however, he soon learns to know his blood parents. He may be permitted to visit them, to work with them, to care for them in sickness, but it is to his adopting parents that the child owes primary social and affectual obligations and on whom he is supposed to lavish all his interest and support. Because of the complete sociological break that adoption is supposed to occasion, the conflict situation which blood parents, either through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, may stimulate by encouraging their child to visit them, by petting him, lavishing affection over him, saving choice food for him, is regarded with dismay and hostility. Blood parents who in any way try to revive blood ties are regarded as black traitors. If a child shows more than a formal interest in his blood parents, the latter are expected to show in every possible way, even by resorting to violent whippings, that the child is unwanted. Similarly, adopting parents are justified in severely disciplining an adopted child who persists in sneaking off to a blood parent's household. The following examples will illustrate these points:

577 Lina (7:0), the adopted child of Mata and Lekau, comes back to Mata's house from working
159 in the bush with Lekau, eats some food, throws off his lavalava and then starts to walk down the
182

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599 village path in the direction of the next village where his blood parents live. Mata screams after the
159 boy to return immediately; then noticing he is not paying any attention to her, she runs after him.
152 She comes back driving the crying boy in front of her with heavy blows from a thick stick. Lima
[839] runs into the house and Mata barricades him inside, telling him not to try to move from the house on pain of another beating. In explanation of this scene, Mata complains that Lima slips away from her house as much as possible, visiting his blood parents by preference. She is enraged with the boy and takes a long time to calm down again. Lima, incidentally, is forever pulling at his penis and masturbating. Mata is almost the only Pukapukan parent who is worried by this. She does not allow Lima to go naked as do the other boys of his age but keeps him dressed in the lavalava skirt. It is perhaps significant that Lima tossed aside his lavalava before trying to steal away from his adopted mother's house.

597 . The second example of frustration is more indirect in that it refers to the reaction of a
154 child to other children in the household who have been adopted, but it provides a case of play
857 behavior that is clearly symbolic and probably only to be intrepreted in terms of a deep-
159 seated conflict over being a member of a household in which the adopted children enjoy a favored position.

Ta (7:0) is the youngest of eight children. He lives with his now elderly parents who have adopted their two grandchildren (Ta's niece and nephew) into the same household. The parents give all their favors and affection to their adopted grandchildren. Ta is obviously unwanted in the household. He is an unsmiling, lonely child, hanging precariously onto the fringes of a gang that has no particular welcome for him. On this occasion he was seen playing marbles with two other boys and a girl, the oldest of whom was four and a half years.

Ta drops out of the game. He strolls off into the bush but is soon back again with a long narrow immature coconut. He cuts a nick out of the center bottom of this nut with his knife and says, "This is the penis of my child." Then he turns the nut over and makes another nick saying, "This is the hole of the anus for defecating." Now he scratches a few rough marks on the nut to represent eyes, nose, and mouth, and lays the nut down on the ground. He says his child has lived for one day only and is now dead. He says he is going to bury the child. (But for adoption, Ta's nephews, whom he now calls "brother" would be called "son" or "child" by him.) He begins to dig out a hole in the ground with a coconut shell. The other two boys now drop their marble game and join in the burial play. When he has finished digging, Ta goes off to find some "mata" for his corpse-child. He brings back some large dried leaves which he carefully wraps round the child. The three boys now place the corpse on strips of coconut leaf and lift it up to place in the grave. As they do so, they fumble. The corpse drops off the leaves onto the ground. Without comment, all three boys kick the corpse and hole to pieces, trampling on both with their feet.

While his two friends begin other games, Ta picks up a small piece of coconut wood and starts to cut out what he calls a coffin. He whittles away for almost an hour, carefully shaping the box and hollowing out the inside. From another portion of the same piece of wood Ta shapes what he says is his "child"—a longish piece of wood with a knob representing the head. He inserts the child in the coffin. Finally, he makes a lid and with it carefully covers over the child inside the coffin. When he has finished he stares at his work for a while. Then he removes the child and proceeds to cut coffin and lid into small sections. These sections he throws away into the bush. Now he cuts up his child-corpse, handing round pieces to several boys who have come up to play saying, "Eat my

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fact that the Pukapukan attitude to overt sex expression among children is the very reverse of our own. This means that Pukapukan children say and do things that American children only phantasy about. The fundamental libidinal drives are the same. The difference is that what the children of one culture do, the children of the other culture dream. Our own feeling is that the implications of this difference for the culture-personality process are still unclear.

A similar suspension of judgment would also seem to be in order over the psychology of the so-called latency period. In our own society psychoanalysts conclude that repressive cultural attitudes towards sexual expression have the effect of so controlling libidinal development that the years of middle childhood, say from seven to twelve, are characterized by an absence of overt sexual behavior. Freud himself apparently inclined to the view that whether or not a latency period is found in a particular culture depends upon attitudes in that society to sexual expression or repression.[13] The data summarized here on Pukapukan children would appear to support this view. Again however Dr Isaacs, on the basis of her very extensive work with children, conceptualizes the latency period in somewhat different terms. According to her,[14] it is best understood as referring to the child's repression of its central unconscious conflicts with regard to his parents, the consequent lessening of emotional tension and stabilization of attitudes towards adults and other children. In terms of this definition it is plain, as Dr Isaacs herself suggests, that the latency period is just as characteristic of Pukapukan children as of those of American culture.

One further note may perhaps be added in regard to interpretations. The adult Pukapukan character, as judged by cultural ideals, seems to be one marked by much aggressiveness. Evidence for this is found in intense village rivalries over sport (but not in economic matters), in innumerable personal chants that glorify individual prowess in love and other pursuits, in an at times turbulent island history marked by bloodshed and violence.[15] This aggressiveness might be directly due, on a theoretical analysis, either to specific patterns of childhood conditioning or else it might conceivably represent an over-compensation for fundamental insecurities and inadequacies brought about by the conditioning of other patterns. One's inability decisively to infer the types of adult character formation likely to result from childhood patterns even in our own society is presumably due to the fact that we are working with a social psychology that is as yet not as powerful as it may sometime become. One's difficulty is increased immeasureably when any sort of definitive analysis is attempted for a primitive society.[16] We confess a present inability to show the linkages within

[13] See for example Sigmund Freud, *An Autobiographical Study* (London, 1935), p. 66 fn.

[14] Susan S. Isaacs, *Social Development in Young Children* (London, 1933), pp. 279, 307–99, appendix 2, pp. 458–61.

[15] The role of this aggressiveness in Pukapukan culture and the mechanisms whereby it receives institutionalized outlet have been briefly characterized: Ernest Beaglehole, *Emotional Release in a Polynesian Community* (Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 32, pp. 329–38, 1937).

[16] G. Gorer has recently attempted this type of analysis in his *Himalayan Village* (London, 1938). Cf. Margaret Mead's review-article on this book in Oceania, Vol. 9, pp. 344–53, 1939.

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
8.14 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalising with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and

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EMOTIONAL RELEASE IN A POLYNESIAN COMMUNITY

By ERNEST BEAGLEHOLE
VICTORIA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, NEW ZEALAND

105 THE atoll of Pukapuka consists of three small islets strung on a coral ring. Apart from the tiny islet of Nassau, the nearest neighbor of Pukapuka is the Samoan Islands, some four hundred miles to the south. The total land area of the atoll [161] is less than one square mile. The population today numbers about five hundred people. In the past it was probably two or three times this number. For the most part, owing to the necessity of conserving food resources, all the people live on a small part of one islet only. The remainder of this islet and the other two islets are kept as food reserves visited only at times set by the controlling villages. The people are grouped into three villages, membership in which is by birth or by affiliation after birth.[1]

The year is roughly divided into two seasons. A season of fair weather with steady, cool, southeast trade winds lasts from March to November. From November on, the weather is marked by changeable and boisterous gales from the northwest. The average height of the land above sea level is about six feet. Hurricanes are infrequent, but when they do occur their effect is disastrous. Even without a hurricane, the time from November to March is one of ever-present anxiety and worry as to what the next day will bring forth. Since deep-sea fishing is difficult, this period is often marked by scarcity of both fish and plant foods.

105 The culture of the people is on the whole characterized by
● [152] extraverted tendencies. Times of birth, marriage and death are
156 punctuated with violent outbursts of emotion that is allowed full
181 expression in chanting, dancing and wailing. In individual behavior the society sets a premium on vigorous action whether in love, sport or everyday life. That man, or woman, is honored who shows exceptional excellence in any of these activities. The ideal is competitive to a degree. A man is happy if he can
156 outstrip his fellows in love or sport and then boast of his exploits
578 in songs that he delights to chant. Naturally, for one to succeed,

[1] The social and economic organization of Pukapuka is described in *Formal Patterns of Pukapukan Culture*, by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, Bulletin in press, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole-analyst]

[156 578] others must be defeated. Repressed jealousy and hard feeling are common emotions.

●152 571 Under the conditions of life and the type of culture I have indicated it should not be surprising if repressed aggressive tendencies and anxieties show typical reaction formations. Life is such that no one may get away from his fellow-villager. Privacy and solitude as we know them are almost non-existent. Day and night, month in, month out, the individual is continually in contact with others. He cannot get away from them no matter what the provocation. Were it not for certain socially approved ways of expressing otherwise repressed emotions, the society would disintegrate under the weight of its own neuroses.

154 Two socially institutionalized releases for this pent-up emotion may be mentioned. When the old culture was functioning fully, the end of the hurricane season was celebrated with a month or more of dancing, chanting and feasting. The anxiety and worry of the previous months, during which there was an ever-present danger that each day would be the last, was allowed to drain away through a patterned emotional catharsis. Today when the island is nominally Christianized, the church has implicitly recognized the need for this purge. It celebrates a vigorous three-week period of thanksgiving and prayer, following this up with dramatic performances of Bible legend or approved incidents from the traditional history of the island in which village competes against village in a program of boisterous dramatization.

154 578 Another type of collective abreaction is found in the traditional institutional rivalry among the three villages. At periodical intervals contests are arranged in which village competes against village, the winning village being given the privilege of chanting for one whole day, in the presence of all the people of the island assembled, songs that glorify the chanters and hurl the most vicious insults at everyone else. At the end of a day, excitement reaches a high pitch and floods off into sexual license. Emotional catharsis and physical exhaustion thus combine to reduce the level of anxiety and aggression in the community to a socially safe pressure.

Village contests are arranged for fishing, wrestling, dart-throwing, and today for cricket. In this last sport teams of women compete as well as teams of men. The games continue for some three weeks and the women are at least as vigorous as the men in utilizing the opportunity given them to be as nasty and as insulting as they please towards the women of other villages.

As an example of the sort of chant that is considered insulting

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The people collected the rubbish piles and placed them in the customary path of the demon. A warrior showed himself and tempted the demon to advance. As he advanced, the warrior retreated, setting light to the piles with a torch. The translation then runs: 154 578

"The demon crab crawled on top of the first bonfire. He was scorched by the fire. One of his legs broke. Finished. Te Palo (the warrior) moved backward. The demon crab climbed onto the next bonfire. He broke the other large foot. The main legs were finished at being broken. Te Palo moved to the third of the bonfires. The demon crab also crawled up. They continued just like that. The legs were finished falling off in the bonfires, nine of them. There was still one more bonfire. The trunk of the crab's body and testicles alone remained. Te Palo moved backward. The crab crawled to the last bonfire. He burned the trunk and testicles. They fell away from the shell. The crab squirmed. Te Palo called out to his friends to come and help him finish off the demon. The people rushed forward with sticks and stones. They pounded on the crab, smashed him to pieces. They whipped him until his skin was raw. He was nothing but a soft pulp. They pounded the pulp till it was dust. The demon crab died. Finished also is his tale."

The account just given is in summary form, but it well preserves the narrative style of much of this type of Pukapukan fantasy—the repetitive and slow building up to a long-delayed climax. Told with gesture and enthusiasm, the story is made to live *for* the auditor. The European observer cannot but feel that the substitute satisfactions of fantasy should not be lightly underrated.

There can be no doubt that spontaneous abreactions of anxiety do actually occur in real life, more so in the past than now, when a Resident Agent keeps tight control on the manners, morals and customs of the Pukapukans. However, we were able to collect many accounts of incidents in which individuals were punished by spontaneous group action for crimes that particularly shocked the conscience of the time. The greatest sin in Pukapuka is, and was, that of stealing. This is understandable when one recalls that only by the most rigid control of all available food resources was it possible in the past to support the population of the atoll. Discovered stealing was a shameful crime. When this happened, the thief was likely to lose all self-control and, in his intense shame, kill whatever living creature was in sight. The following story of Vakathyala is a typical illustration of this: 154 152 627 579

Vakathyala went with the other people of his village to the reserve islet of Motu Ko to gather and husk fallen coconuts. All the people had been warned against taking drinking nuts for their own use. Vakathyala went

152 into the middle of the reserve, opened a drinking nut and afterwards
154 cracked the shell to eat the flesh inside. In the quietness of the bush this
627 was heard by the other men and they ran to him, seeking to hold him for
579 having broken the tapu of the reserve. Vakathyala escaped them and ran along the main reef back to his village. Near home, he came upon two children playing in a shallow reef pool. In his madness Vakathyala struck down the children and killed them. Rushing further, he came to two other children playing by themselves. These children Vakathyala also killed.

When the people of the island heard of these killings they were enraged. Vakathyala was caught and it was decided that he should be whipped to death. He was dragged to the village meeting ground and then in turn the men of each lineage whipped him. His skin swelled, became raw, was torn to shreds, only flesh remained, then his veins stood out, and soon his bones were visible. The father of the slain children heated stones red-hot and applied them to Vakathyala's testicles. When all the lineages had finished, the pulpy, disintegrated body of Vakathyala was dragged to the beach, thrown into the sea and allowed to drift back and forth as wind and tide carried it. The people gathered on the beach and cursed the dead body. One night Vakathyala's maternal lineage came secretly to the beach, gathered the remains of the body in a mat and buried it in a hastily dug hole. The people of the island looked for the body but none could find it. None knew its whereabouts. This is well for had the act of the maternal lineage been discovered, all the men of this lineage would have been whipped. The island had decreed death for Vakathyala and none might interfere with this command.

So runs the account. It should be noted that the last refinement of torture is not physical but social. The socially approved way in which to dispose of any corpse is to bury it in the family cemetery, the focus of a complex set of relationships which determine social status both during the life and after the death of
154 the individual. No Pukapukan can visualize with anything but intense horror the disposal of his corpse, or any other corpse for
761 that matter, in an unidentified grave or in the sea. It represents
152 the negation of everything that gives meaning to life. The real
579 point of the story, however, is the methodical manner in which the community systematically set about punishing the offender and in which it appears to have made this punishment the excuse for elaborate sadistic and aggressive impulses that would otherwise have been denied an approved outlet. Again, in telling the story, many many years after the event, informants became extremely excited as the narrative proceeded. With a wealth of
154 detail and emphasis they built up the climax. There was evident no expression of horror at the type of punishment inflicted, no statement of sympathy at the sufferings of the individual as he

154 Kupenga was married to Te Anga. She committed adultery one day
837 and was spied on by the relatives of Te Anga, who came and complained to him. The heart of Te Anga was pierced. He was filled by jealousy. His jaws trembled, his feet stamped up and down. When Kupenga came crawling back to him at daybreak he seized her, tore apart her thighs, exposed her genitals. He tied her two arms to two house posts, stretched apart her legs and tied them to two sides of the house. No part of her remained covered. The news spread to the whole island. Nothing like that had happened before and the island moved up to look at Kupenga. Te Anga stood on guard before his wife, defying any man to come and untie her. Because of his strength and skill with the club the crowd of men were afraid. They cried out, beating their arms against their bodies, calling for a person to untie the woman. It was impossible.

The people of the island and her relatives were ashamed because of Kupenga. It was like any exposed object and the children were looking on this thing. At last another strong man crawled on the ground to Te Anga and beseeched him to soften his heart. By gentle words the heart of Te Anga was softened. He ordered the men to untie his wife. They did. So stiff were her muscles that she could not walk. Besides she was ashamed of her nakedness. She strangled herself by tying an anchor rope round her neck and pulling tight on the two ends. Kupenga died and the island was disgusted.

This account has in it several touches of Pukapukan psychology, particularly that emphasis on the shame felt by a woman when her genitals are exposed to the gaze of others. Exposure of the genitals is the equivalent of sexual intercourse, and there are many incidents in Polynesia where a woman striving to preserve her body from a pursuer gives up the struggle as hopeless when by some ruse or other she is tricked into displaying her genitals. The shame of Kupenga was great because she was exposed not only to the gaze of all the men of the island but to the children as well, who, like all Polynesian children, are allowed to participate in almost anything that interests the adults.
● 152 The point, however, which I wish to emphasize is that Te Anga's
154 outburst of aggression towards his wife, an outburst so great
158 that he was strong enough to flout the feelings of the community at large, must be considered as a very individual way of reacting to a conflict situation which those of other temperaments would pass over with a momentary annoyance. It is also typical of the extraverted behavior patterns of Pukapukan society that his reaction should take the form of sudden and violent action. There was no brooding, no inner dwelling on a felt conflict, merely a senseless outburst of violence that drained off all the anxiety.
154 As long as the tension was at its height, Te Anga would brook no